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SUBJECT: DEPT REVIEW OF SECTION I OF SOVIET DRAFT EXCHANGES PROGRAM

1. RESPONSIBLE OFFICES IN THE DEPT HAVE COMPLETED INITIAL REVIEW OF SECTION I (AND CERTAIN PARAGRAPHS IN SECTION II) OF THE SOVIET DRAFT FOR THE 1977-79 EXCHANGES PROGRAM. THE DEPT SUBMITS BELOW THE RESULTS TO THE EMBASSY FOR ITS COMMENTS.

2. STRATEGY:

A. WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO WORK FROM OUR DRAFT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SEVERAL OF OUR POSITIONS, SUCH AS THE SPLIT OF THE GS/YF CATEGORY INTO TWO SEPARATE CATEGORIES, WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO INCORPORATE INTO THE SOVIET DRAFT. FURTHER, SEVERAL ENTIRE SECTIONS (PARAS 5 AND 6) OF OUR DRAFT HAVE NO COUNTERPARTS IN THE SOVIET DRAFT. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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B. OUR NEXT PROBLEM WILL REVOLVE AROUND NUMBERS--QUOTAS FOR THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS, LECTURERS AND DELEGATIONS. WE SHOULD HOLD TO OUR PRESENT NUMBERS, EXPLAINING TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE CONSIDER THE "AT LEAST" TERMINOLOGY TO BE GOVERNING, AND THAT WE REGARD THE QUOTAS AS MINIMUM LEVELS WHICH WE MAY EXCEED WHENEVER OTHER CONDITIONS PERMIT.

AMONG THESE "OTHER CONDITIONS", WE SHOULD EXPLAIN,
ARE: 1) SOVIET ACTION TO PROVIDE BETTER ARCHIVAL ACCESS TO
OUR EXCHANGEES; 2) DEGREE TO WHICH THE PREEMINENCE OF
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THIS PROGRAM, AS THE ONLY
US-USSR EXCHANGE PROGRAM NOT PRIMARILY ORIENTED TOWARD THE
HARD SCIENCES, IS REFLECTED IN THE CHOSEN TOPICS AND FIELDS
OF BOTH SIDES' NOMINATIONS; AND 3) FUNDING RESOURCES ON
OUR SIDE. WHILE IN OUR TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS WE WILL NOT
SHY AWAY FROM A FRANK DISCUSSION OF POTENTIAL FUNDING
DIFFICULTIES, WE WILL STRESS THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF
POINTS 1 AND 2 ABOVE IN FURTHER EXPANSION OF THE PROGRAM.

C. SEVERAL SOVIET PARAGRAPHS ARE AIMED AT INVOLVING THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN AREAS IN WHICH IT HAS NO AUTHORITY--E.G., TEXTBOOK PUBLISHING. WE WILL OPPOSE INSERTION OF THESE PARAS IN THE PROGRAM, BUT AT THE SAME TIME ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH COMPETENT U.S. PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS ON THESE ISSUES.

- 3. THE FOLLOWING IS A DETAILED COMMENTARY ON SECTION I OF THE SOVIET DRAFT.
- 4. SOVIET PARA A (US PARAS A, B) (GS/YF EXCHANGE)
 WE CONSIDER OUR SPLIT OF THE GS/YF INTO TWO CATEGORIES
 IMPORTANT, AND WILL OPPOSE SOVIET EFFORTS TO DELETE IT.
 THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR OUR LANGUAGE ON A SOCIAL/TECHNICAL
 SCIENCES BALANCE. ISSUES ON WHICH WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO
 NEGOTIATE ARE:

A) PROVISION OF LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR YOUNG RESEARCHERS AS WELL AS FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS. (FYI, U.S. PARTICIPANTS ARE INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT VALUE OF THE SOVIET LANGUAGE PROGRAM, THOUGH IREX STILL ARGUES THAT THE US LANGUAGE PROGRAM FOR SOVIET SCHOLARS IS NECESSARY); AND

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- B) THE 100 PERSON-MONTH LIMIT ON YOUNG RESEARCHERS IS NOT VITAL AND COULD BE DROPPED TO EFFECT A COSMETIC CHANGE IF DESIRED BY THE SOVIETS.
- 5. SOVIET PARA B (US PARA D) (LANGUAGE TEACHERS) WE WOULD OPPOSE CHANGES IN OUR LANGUAGE.
- 6. SOVIET PARA D(US PARA E) (GRADUATE STUDENTS IN ARTS)

WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY THAT LIBRARIANS CLEARLY DO NOT BELONG IN THIS PARAGRAPH. HOWEVER, WE WILL PREPARE LANGUAGE FOR AN ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH PROVIDING FOR A LIBRARIANS EXCHANGE IF EMBASSY CONCURS. WE WILL PUSH HARD TO INCREASE THE SOVIET PROPOSAL OF TWO ARTS STUDENTS TO OUR PROPOSAL OF FIVE. SOVIET LANGUAGE ON ROUTING NOMINATIONS CAN BE INCLUDED IN THE IMPLEMENTING CONDITIONS. WE WILL CONTINUE OUR PROPOSAL ON LANGUAGE TRAINING, BUT WILL NOT INSIST IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THE SOVIETS SHOULD NOT AGREE.

7. SOVIET PARA C (SENIOR SCHOLARS)

WE INTEND TO HOLD TO OUR NUMBERS, EMPHASIZING THE "AT LEAST" FORMULA AS A FLOOR FOR FURTHER EXPANSION, BUT WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS DROPPING THE PERSON-MONTHS CEILING.

8. PARA 2 (LECTURERS)

WE WILL OPPOSE THE SOVIET CEILING OF 10 LECTURERS.
WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY (GRANT PRIORITY LIST) THAT THIS IS
ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXCHANGES, AND WILL PUSH
VIGOROUSLY FOR ITS EXPANSION. WE CAN ACCEPT THE SOVIET
LANGUAGE FOR LECTURE TOPICS, PERHAPS INCLUDING, AS AN
ADDITION, PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES. OUR LANGUAGE ON A SOCIAL/
TECHNICAL SCIENCE BALANCE SHOULD BE MAINTAINED.

9. SOVIET PARA 3 (EDUCATION SEMINARS)

WE CAN ACCEPT SOVIET LANGUAGE BUT WOULD WANT TO ADD THAT HALF OF THE SEMINARS SHOULD BE ON PRIMARY/SECONDARY EDUCATION.

10. PARA 4 (EDUCATION DELEGATIONS)

WE CAN ACCEPT SOVIET LANGUAGE HERE IF THE LIMIT ON NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS IS DROPPED. AGAIN, HALF OF THE DELEGATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SHOULD BE ON PRIMARY/SECONDARY EDUCATION.

11. SOVIET PARA 6 (EDUCATION DELEGATIONS-MINED)
THIS SIMPLY ADDS (FOR THE MINED) TWO EDUCATION DELEGATIONS
EACH WAY OVER THREE-YEAR PERIOD. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO
ELIMINATE THIS, EXPLAINING THAT SUCH VISITS COULD BE PROVIDED FOR IN PARA 4 ON EDUCATION DELEGATIONS. WE WILL
ALSO OPPOSE NAMING OF SPECIFIC TOPICS FOR DELEGATION
VISITS OR SEMINARS IN ANY OF THE PARAS, INCLUDING THIS
ONE.

12. SOVIET PARA 7 (EDUCATION SEMINARS-MINED) SIMILARLY, THIS ADDS TWO ADDITIONAL SEMINARS, AGAIN FOR MINED, AND CAN BE INCORPORATED IN OTHER PARAS. WE WILL OPPOSE ITS INCLUSION.

13. SOVIET PARA 8 (US PARA 5) (EDUCATION SPECIALISTS) WE WILL PUSH FOR ACCEPTANCE OF US LANGUAGE. WE OPPOSE BOTH LIMITS ON NUMBER OF SPECIALISTS AND THE BRIEF DURATION OF THEIR STAYS.

14. SOVIET PARA 9 (EDUCATION LECTURERS-MINED)
WE WOULD WELCOME AN EXCHANGE OF LECTURERS ON EDUCATION, BUT
BUT WILL ARGUE THAT ADEQUATE PROVISION IS ALREADY MADE IN
PARA 2.

15. SOVIET PARA 10 (TEXTBOOK CONTENT)
WE WILL DELETE, AS EXPLAINED PARA 1C ABOVE.

16. SOVIET PARA 11 (EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS)
WE ARE LOOKING INTO THIS SUGGESTION FOR MATERIALS EXCHANGE
AND WILL INFORM THE EMBASSY OF OUR FINDINGS.

17. SOVIET PARA 12 (US PARA 8) (LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION)
WE WILL SEEK LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR SIMILAR OBLIGATION ON EACH SIDE, AS IN OUR DRAFT.

18. SOVIET PARA 13 (EQUIVALENCE OF DEGREE)
SOVIET PROPOSAL IS UNACCEPTABLE, SINCE USG HAS NO AUTHORITY
ON THIS SUBJECT.

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19. US PARA 6 (EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS) THE SOVIET DRAFT HAS NO EQUIVALENT. WE WILL PUSH FOR ITS INCLUSION.

20. US PARA 7 (SEMINARS ON OTHER TOPICS)
AGAIN, NO SOVIET EQUIVALENT. WE BELIEVE THIS IS AN IMPORTANT AREA FOR EXPANSION OF THE PROGRAM, AND WILL VIGOROUSLY PUSH FOR ITS INCLUSION.

21. SOVIET SECTION II, PARA 4 (EXCHANGE OF DELEGATIONS, SEMINARS ON "ART AND CULTURE")
WE CAN ACCEPT FIRST SUB-PARA AS WRITTEN. WE WOULD INCLUDE LANGUAGE SIMILAR TO THE SECOND SUB-PARA IN THE IMPLEMENTING CONDITIONS.

22. SOVIET SECTION II, PARA 5 (EXCHANGES OF CHOREOGRAPHERS, DIRECTORS, ETC.)
WE CAN ACCEPT AS WRITTEN, BUT WILL PUSH FOR A MORE
CONCRETE OBLIGATION TO EXCHANGE, NOT ONLY TO STUDY THE
POSSIBILITY OF EXCHANGING.

23. OUR COMMENTS ON THE SOVIET DRAFT IMPLEMENTING

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